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SCOPE PAPER: PRC MINISTER OF DEFENCE VISIT

I. Bilateral Relations on the Eve of the Visit

Recent months have seen a significant improvement in the *tone* of Sino-American relations. Over the past six months, we have had series of high-level visits and meetings that have included senior officials from NSC (Lake), State (Christopher & Davis), ACDA (Holum), Commerce (Kantor), DOD (USDP Slocumbe & CINCPAC), and various CODELs. More recently, President Clinton met with President Jiang in Manila.



The Administration is making a concerted effort to emphasize Sino-American common, long-term objectives and the mutual benefits to be gained from enhanced cooperation. It has also committed to a visit by the Vice President to China in early-1997, and to an exchange of summits in 1997 & 1998. Our One China Policy is being reaffirmed, with special emphasis on the question of Taiwan leader transits and visits in 1997. At the same time, our leaders have been realistic and straightforward in their dialogues with Beijing, restating our Taiwan arms sales obligations, and noting that overall improved relations are dependent upon progress in key areas, particularly nonproliferation and human rights.

It is unclear how the 105th Congress will approach key China policy issues. Tensions in the Taiwan Strait earlier this year will probably lead to a dampening of Members' enthusiasm for Taipei's pragmatic diplomacy. Moves to routinize high-level dialogue with the PRC will likely receive bipartisan support. The granting of permanent MFN status to China is also possible. At the same time, the growing U.S.-China trade imbalance, Beijing's continuing repression of political dissidents, PRC proliferation behavior in

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Iran & Pakistan, and the rise of Chinese military power, will all be sources of Congressional concern likely to lead to hearings, resolutions, & legislation bound to influence PRC perceptions of American intentions and to shape our own domestic debate on U.S. policy towards China. This, in addition to a Congressionally mandated report that DOD must prepare by February 1997 on PRC military capabilities, as well as a possible requirement to document and justify all Sino-American military contacts since 1994.

U.S. media reporting of the Administration's China policy is generally skeptical and negative. The USG is often portrayed as the ardent suitor in the relationship. The Administration has been criticized for soft-pedaling human rights and nonproliferation. In the absence of any substantive policy results, emphasis on summitry and routine cabinet-level dialogue is characterized as misguided focus on process. Still, the tenor of domestic op-ed pieces on China is much more serious than prior to March 1996, and there is at least a greater recognition of the long-term importance of Sino-American relations to U.S. security.

II. PRC MOD Delegation:

General Chi ("CHIRR") Haotian ("HOW-TEE-EN"), Vice Chairman of the Central Military Commission (CMC), State Councilor, and Minister of Defence, will lead the most senior, broadest PLA delegation to visit the U.S. since establishment of diplomatic relations between Washington and Beijing in 1980. In addition to his wife, his entourage includes:

- LTG Xiong ("SHE-UNG") Guangkai, one of four deputy chiefs of the General Staff Department. He is charged with the management of foreign military affairs



- Senior leaders from PLA services, including an army regional military commander (Guangzhou Military Region, whose AOR includes Hong Kong, Vietnam, and the South China Sea), the newly appointed Air Force Commander, a navy deputy commander, and a Strategic Rocket Forces (2d Artillery) deputy commander, and a deputy director of the General Logistics Department. The only two PLA branches not represented will be COSTIND and the General Political Department.
- An assistant foreign minister.
- A support staff including PRC MND Foreign Affairs Bureau officers, Chi's military aide, interpreter, doctor, and security officer.

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- Also traveling with the PRC MOD during his stay in the U.S. will be the PRC Ambassador Li Daoyu, PRC DATT MG Chen Kaizeng, and Chen's wife.

III. PRC MOD Expectations and Goals:

In assessing Chi's likely expectations & goals, it is important to note at the outset that he is your counterpart in title only. The PRC MND is a hollow organization that exists only because of the dictates of protocol in conducting foreign military relations. He does represent the PLA within the State Council, is one of nine key members of the CMC (roughly, the collective National Command Authority), and does help shape PRC international security strategy.



Nevertheless, Chi's visit is still regarded as very significant by the Politburo and PLA. Chi will serve as a mouthpiece for the Party Center in clarifying Chinese security policy positions to important audiences in the U.S. He has likewise been empowered to manage the channel of communications between the PLA and DOD at the highest levels. And the results of his trip will be carefully assessed by other Chinese military leaders as they debate possible future interactions with the U.S. armed forces.



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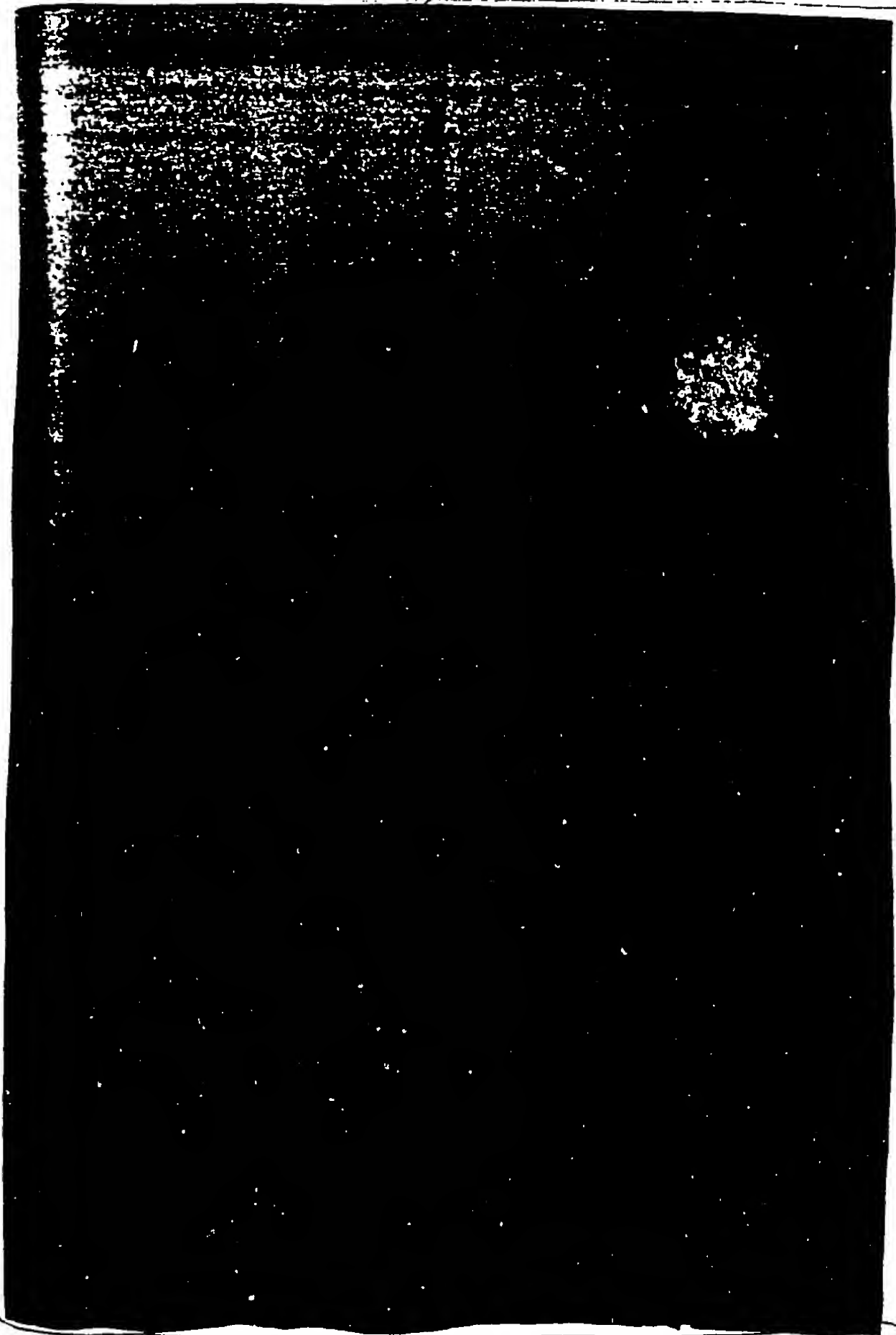
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Within this context, the PRC MOD likely has the following objectives for his visit to the U.S.:

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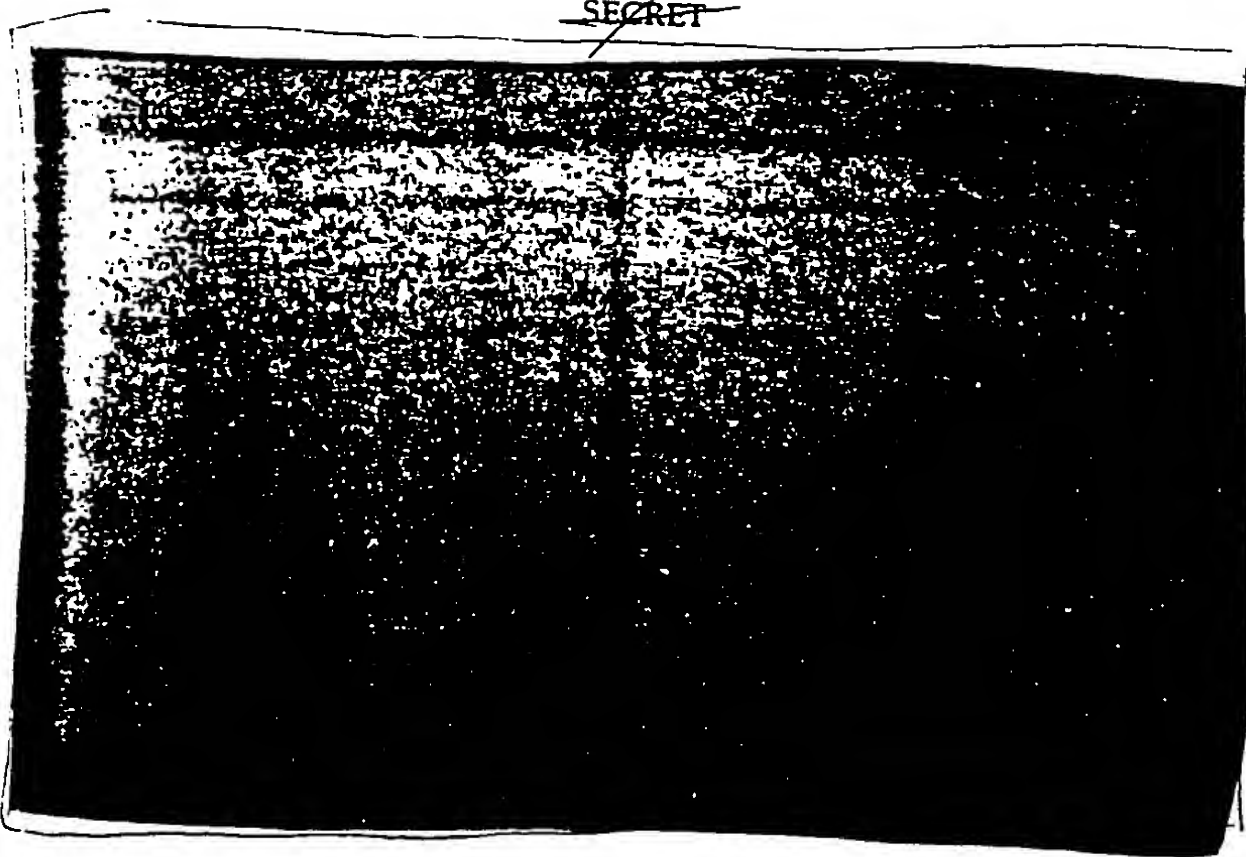
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- **Follow-up on WWII MIA Case.** President Jiang Zemin provided President Clinton with the names of two American B-24 crewmen whose dogtags and remains were recently found by the Chinese in Guangxi Province in the southern PRC. On 30 November, the PRC MND informed OSD that Chi wished to hand over the dogtags to SECDEF "at an appropriate time" during his stay in Washington. He also suggested relatives of the deceased be invited to attend if possible. We are working with OASD POW/MIA to develop an appropriate plan and response.

IV. Your Purpose and Objectives:

During your October 1994 visit to China, your six major objectives were: 1) Continuing the process of re-establishing mutual trust with the PLA; 2) Pressing for PLA cooperation on the North Korea nuclear and Pak M-11 disclosure problems; 3) Describing to the PLA a desire to fully implement the military relationship but defining the limitations due to outstanding human rights & proliferation issues; 4) Exchange views with the PLA on defense restructuring and regional security issues; 5) Establish the JDCC; and 6) Propose initiatives to move the bilateral military relationship forward.

Compared with that time, the twice-postponed PRC MOD visit to the U.S. comes at a juncture when the consequences of long-term Sino-American tensions are perhaps more widely recognized in both capitals, although there is less confidence that such an outcome can be easily avoided.

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Secretary Christopher's 19-21 November trip to China 19-21 November represented our most recent extended senior-level policy discussions with Beijing's leadership. His own stated trip objectives were: 1) Emphasize our common, long-term objectives and the mutual benefits to be gained from enhanced cooperation; 2) Discuss our thinking on high-level visits -- the Vice President to China and an exchange of summits; 3) Stress that improved overall relations are dependent upon substantive progress in key areas, particularly nonproliferation and human rights; 4) Reassure PRC leaders of our consistent policy on Taiwan, with special emphasis on the question of visits and transits in 1997; and 5) Draw attention to the intense interest which the Hong Kong reversion will draw, and the vital importance of a smooth transition.

Your own broad objectives for the upcoming PRC MOD visit are to: 1) Contribute to momentum in Sino-American relations; 2) Conduct an exchange of views on global and regional security issues; 3) Advance selected initiatives to further bilateral military relations; and 4) Expose delegation to U.S. military capabilities and U.S. society.

In addition to his time with you, the PRC MOD will have session(s) with the following during which we will have opportunities to advance our security and military agenda: When in the Washington area 8-10 December, the President, NSA Lake, CJCS, and Acting SECSTATE; and when at PACOM HQ 15-18 December, with CINCPAC.

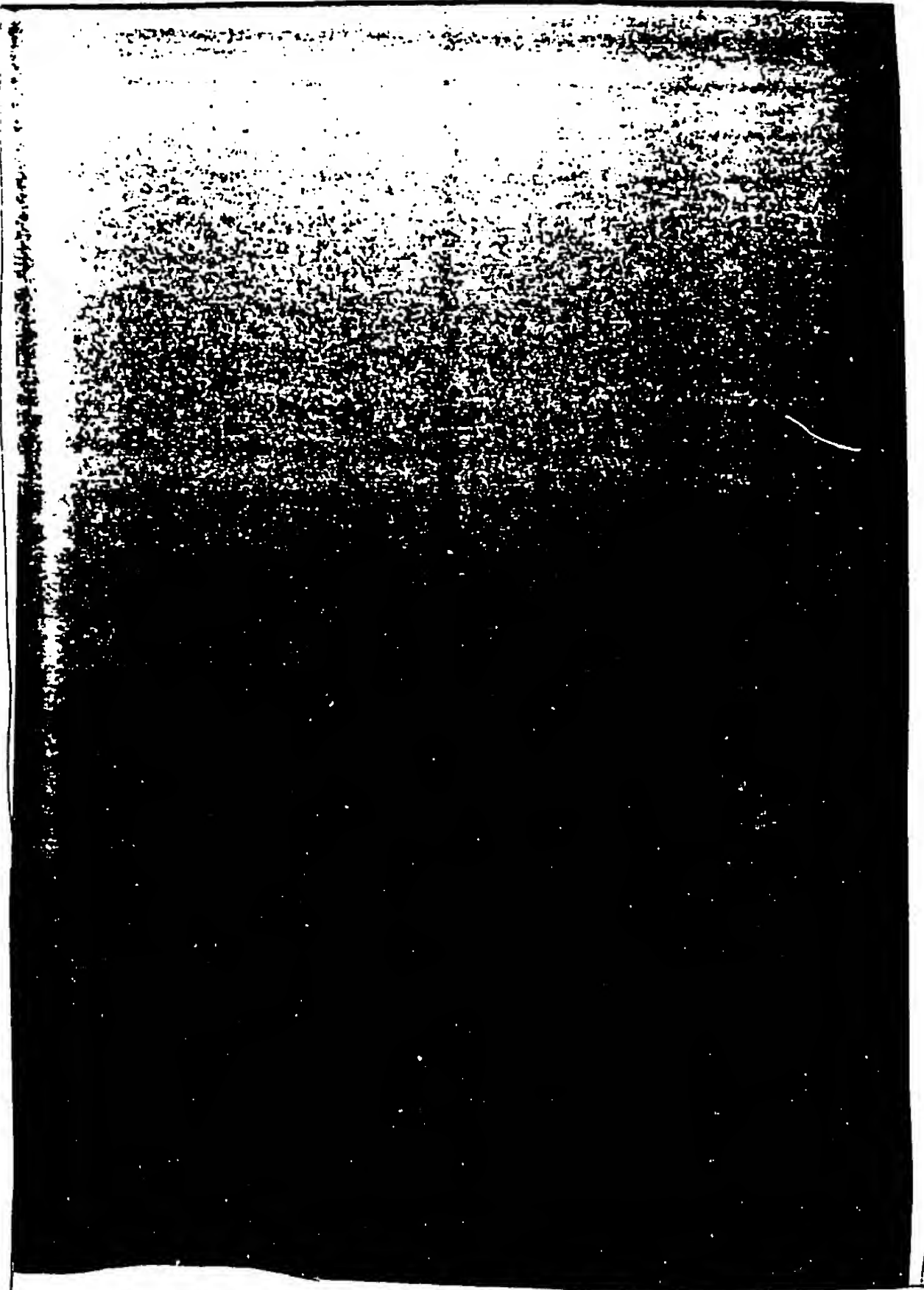
Regarding our security dialogue, there are no specific outcomes expected.



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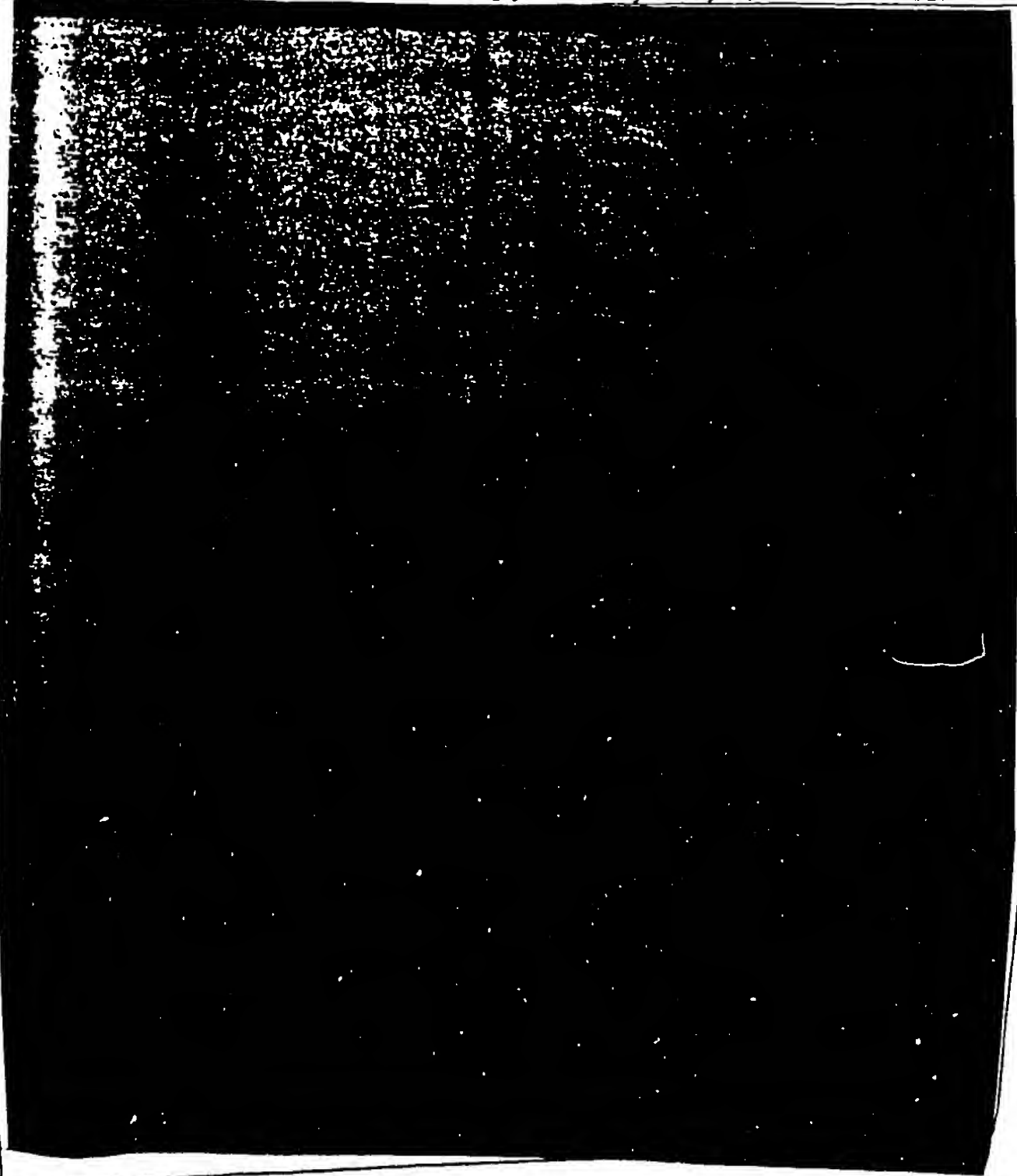


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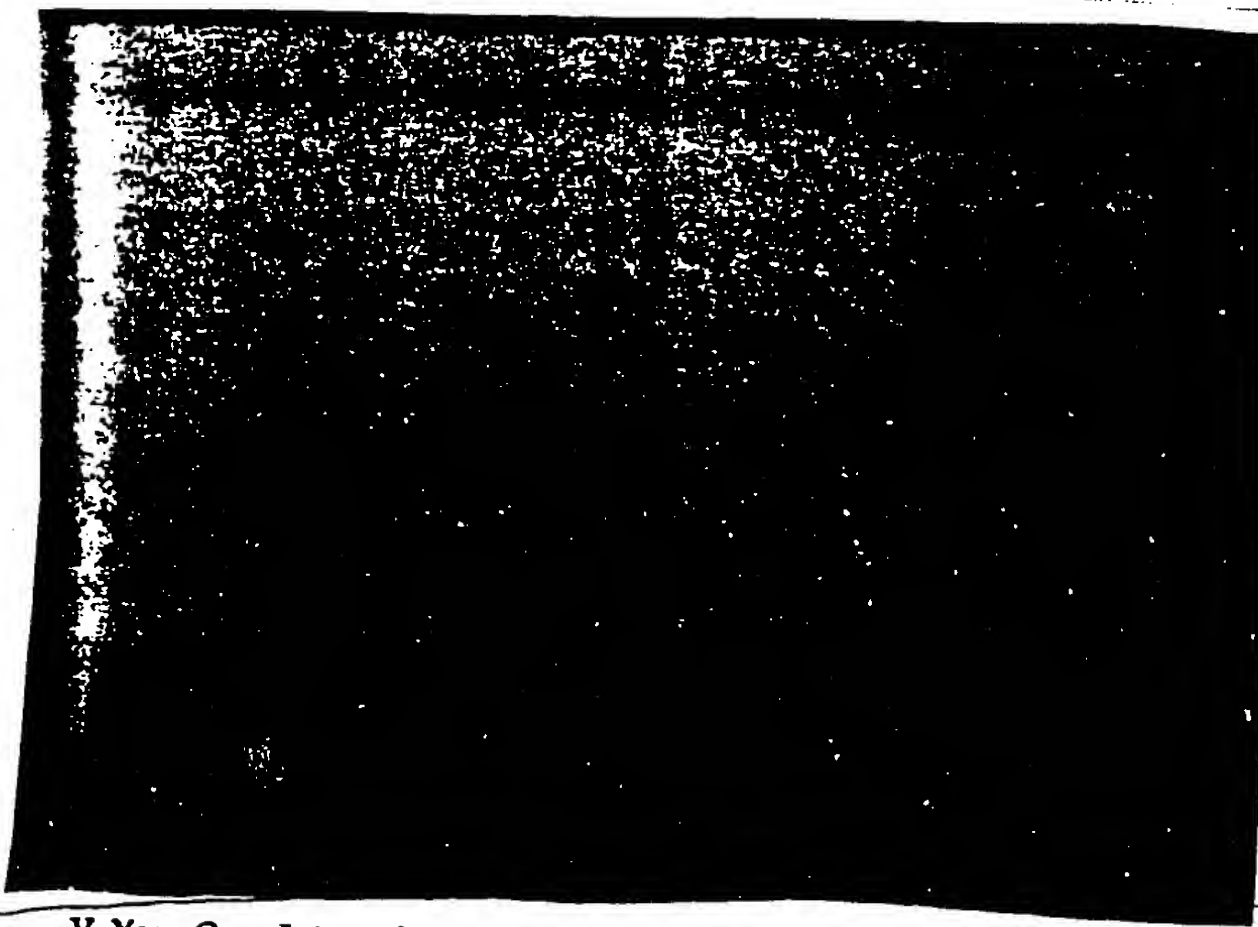
Regarding our military dialogue, The President, NSC, and State can be expected to inform Chi of the Administration's support for constructive military dialogue and exchanges. Chi will have detailed discussions on your expectations for relations in the coming year with you, CJCS, and CINCPAC.



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V. Your Own Interaction with the PRC MOD:

You will have many opportunities for discussions with General Chi, including:

- 8 December, 1030-1500, meeting at Harrisburg Airport, helo to Gettysburg, lunch at Herr Tavern, tour of battlefield, and helo to Washington, D.C.
- 8 December, 1900-2100, welcome dinner for PRC MOD at NWC.
- 9 December, 0800-0930, arrival ceremony, press statements, private meeting at the Pentagon.
- 9 December, 0930-1005, accompany PRC MOD to White House meetings
- 9 December, 1020-1215, plenary session at Pentagon
- 10 December, 1900-2100, PRC MOD return dinner at Chinese Embassy
- 17 December, 0800-0820 VTC with PRC MOD (Brussels to PACOM)

Briefly reviewing the above events, the visit to Gettysburg was arranged primarily as an opportunity to get reacquainted with Chi. Our recommendation is to avoid substantive issues, instead broadly discussing your expectations for Chi's visit and concentrating on the battlefield visit. The PRC MOD will be impressed with the extent to which Americans honor

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their military heritage. He enjoys military history, has studied the American Civil War, and reportedly admires Lincoln (though there is perhaps an element of "you won your civil war, and we're still fighting ours" gamesmanship in all of this). The PLA is also nervous about the impact of your transition on future Sino-American defense relations and you should spend some time reassuring him about policy continuity. The helo ride into Washington, D.C. at the completion of the Gettysburg tour will provide the Minister with a good look at the capital.

The welcome dinner at the National War College Rotunda provides an opportunity for you to return the considerable protocol extended you during your China trip in 1994. Some 200 guest have been invited (we expect about 70% to attend), including all of the senior leaders in OSD, the Joint Staff, and Services; representatives from NSC & State; various Members of Congress; distinguished academics; a bipartisan mix of former USG officials prominent in Sino-American relations; and several members of the media. To the extent the event is widely attended, you will have a good chance both to solicit support for this visit, and to educate Chi and his delegation on the pluralistic nature of our political system.

The arrival ceremony and opening statements at the Pentagon will be followed by your 45-minute private meeting in your office with Chi. The attendance agreed to by both sides includes on our side: you, Ambassador Sasser (here with his wife for the Washington-portion of the visit), USDP, notetaker (Colonel Eikenberry), and interpreter Vivian Chang. Chi will be accompanied by Ambassador Li, LTG Xiong, a notetaker (SrCol Xu Junping whom you have met on numerous occasions), and Chi's interpreter. We can expect the tone of this session to be straightforward and hard-hitting. Chi will lead, and concentrate on overall Sino-American relations, Taiwan, and perhaps Japan. You will respond by addressing Taiwan, and discussing our engagement strategy with China, U.S. presence in the Asia Pacific region, and U.S.-Japan relations.

The brief meeting with the President is ceremonial in nature. The President will emphasize the importance we place on bilateral military relations.

The subsequent plenary session will last for close to two hours and be attended on our side by senior OSD leaders, CJCS, Ambassador Sasser, and reps from State & NSC. The entire Chinese delegation, accompanied by Ambassador Li, will attend. The atmospherics for this session should be positive as both sides focus on common interests. You will lead with a discussion on global & regional security issues (especially nonproliferation

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and Korea), followed by Chi's response. You will then discuss bilat military relations, followed by Chi.

The PRC MOD return dinner will provide you with an opportunity to follow-up on any issues requiring further attention, and to set the stage for Chi's visits to various field activities which will begin the next day.

Finally, the VTC between you and Chi (Brussels to PACOM HQ) will send two powerful messages: 1) the extent of U.S. military power as you speak from NATO HQ via a high-tech communications link; and 2) the seriousness which you and DOD attach to Sino-American defense relations. CINCPAC will accompany General Chi to the VTC, and your State Department interpreter will be with Admiral Prueher in Hawaii.

VI. Some Notes on the Itinerary:

Your senior representative throughout Chi's stay in the U.S. will be NDU President LtGen Rokke who is well-respected within the PLA for his promotion of NDU-NDU ties. Also accompanying him will be out DATT in Beijing, BG Byrnes, several staff members from OSD/ISA, and a State Department interpreter.

The schedule outside of Washington, D.C. has been arranged with several objectives in mind. First, we want to ensure Chi's delegation observes U.S. military capabilities, not only our technological prowess, but perhaps more important, the high-quality soldiers, sailors, and airmen at the cutting edge. PLA conventional wisdom is that the U.S. military is a high-tech paper tiger, devoid of morale; opportunities for PLA leaders to meet with our junior NCOs and officers quickly dispel this myth.

We also believe that a very full exposure to the U.S. armed forces will encourage the many operators in the delegation to advocate improved ties with our military upon their return to China. The PRC MND Foreign Affairs Bureau and PLA counter-intelligence generally tightly control the foreign military affairs agenda. This trip provides an opportunity to short circuit that system.

As an example of the cross-dialogue we are encouraging, the DCINC of STRATCOM, VADM Jones, will attend your welcome dinner & the PRC MOD return dinner, and be seated next to the PLA Strategic Rocket Forces Deputy Commander.

Thus the itinerary includes a visit to two unified commands (ACOM and PACOM), exposure to the Army (USMA & Fort Hood); the Navy (Norfolk and Pearl Harbor); the Air Force (Norfolk and Air University,

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Maxwell AFB); and NDU, the most senior joint professional military education institution. As well, Chi will be exposed to American society and culture, we believe, in ways that will further persuade him of the strength and vibrancy of our nation. This familiarization with America will take place at Gettysburg; while sightseeing in Washington, D.C.; at the Riverwalk in San Antonio; and while in Albuquerque, Los Angeles, and Oahu. The fact that he is here during the Christmas season will facilitate our efforts.

There has been a considerable effort in the field to make visits to their location substantive and memorable. For example, Chi will have a chance to see the entire Corps of Cadets at USMA send off the football team to the Army-Navy game and will be presented with a football at that time. At Fort Hood, Chi and the delegation will have lunch in a mess hall with the Command Sergeant Major and NCO recipients of the Sergeant Audie Murphy Award. In Hawaii, Admiral Prueher will accompany Chi on a sunset tour to Arizona Memorial and has incorporated a briefing on the Pearl Harbor raid by a National Park Service historian.

Two other notes on activities outside of Washington, D.C. First of all, the visit to the Cooperative Monitoring Center at Sandia National Lab supports our efforts to encourage the PRC to join and comply with international nonproliferation and arms control regimes. The CMC which has hosted numerous delegations (including PRC, Russian, Indian, Pakistani, and Middle East), has developed a program which emphasizes the use of technologies for monitoring agreements and supporting bilateral & regional CBMs. Second, the CINCPAC program will focus on explaining our Asia Pacific regional strategy to Chi, and advancing the PACOM-component of our DOD engagement strategy with the PLA, especially regarding CBMs between our operational forces and encouraging PLA participation in regional multinational military activities.

VII. Madame Jiang's Itinerary:

A separate program has been developed for Chi's spouse Madame Jiang. It is not the PRC custom (yet) for spouses of Chinese leaders to travel abroad; hence, Madame Jiang is accompanying Chi because of the dictates of protocol. Not surprisingly, she has indicated a desire to generally maintain a low-profile. She will be accompanied by a PLA female staff officer who will serve as an interpreter and aide. Our side is also providing an escort who can speak Mandarin and is familiar with U.S. military life and protocol.

Mrs. Perry, in addition to the two dinners in Washington, D.C., intends to spend 9 December touring with her and hosting a lunch. The spouse of the senior commander at all locations visited will be personally involved in Madame Jiang's program. In addition to various sightseeing arrangements, Maxwell AFB and Fort Hood have scheduled excellent

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orientations to family life and military family support services on U.S. military installations.

VIII. Congressional Liaison:

Recess has limited Congressional participation in this visit. Nevertheless, we have been proactive in informing Members of this event and making every effort to encourage their participation. To date, we have received a letter from Representative Pelosi taking issue with the rendering of full honors to Chi, and questioning the wisdom of showing him "military secrets". Additionally, Chairman Spence sent you a letter asking for your assistance in promoting the sale of a Gulfstream II jet for China's VIP fleet operated by the PLA Air Force (Chi's delegation will receive a brief orientation on the C-20H, Gulfstream II, just prior to departure at Andrews AFB 12 December).

USDP Slocumbe made a series of calls on 27 November to selected Members (Bereuter, Berman, Matsui, Spence, Feinstein, Robb, and Craig Thomas) briefing them on the upcoming visit. They all voiced appreciation for the call and indicated their support. Senator Nunn has been very active over the past year on U.S. China policy and also backs Chi's visit.

Various Members have been invited to participate in the following events:

- National Committee on U.S.-China National Relations hosted dinner in New York City on 6 December (selected Members from New York and New Jersey)
- Your welcome dinner at National War College on 8 December
- CSIS hosted breakfast on Capitol Hill on 10 December
- PRC MOD return dinner at Chinese Embassy on 10 December (PRC invites based upon the Congressional invite list from your own 8 December dinner)
- Dinner hosted by Sandia National Lab at Albuquerque, New Mexico on 13 December (selected Members from New Mexico)
- Possibly at dinner hosted by CINCPAC in Hawaii on 16 December (selected Members from Hawaii).

We intend to follow-up the visit with several calls to key Members.

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IX. Public Affairs:

There has been extensive advance media work for the Chi visit. Briefly, the key points of media interaction include:

- General press announcement on 25 November and detailed on 5 December (coordinated with PRC MND which simultaneously released)
- Press backgrounder by DASD Campbell on 5 December (to coincide with detailed visit announcement)
- Selected press interviews
- Your speech at National Press Club, Washington, D.C. on 5 December, which discusses U.S.-China military relations and makes note of upcoming the Chi visit
- Selected U.S. and Chinese media representatives invites to your welcome dinner 8 December (including *Washington Post*, *New York Times*, *Newsweek*, and *Los Angeles Times*)
- Press attendance at arrival ceremony at Pentagon on 9 December with opportunity to ask 1-2 questions after the reading of statements by you & the PRC MOD
- Press coverage of the PRC MOD's speech at NDU on 10 December (students, but not press, will ask questions) [NOTE: former-SECDEFs will also be in attendance]
- Coordinated press statements by U.S. and Chinese sides upon Chi's departure from Hawaii.
- Depending on the results attained, several media interviews after the completion of the visit to interpret outcomes.

To date, there has been only limited media focus on the Chi visit, but this is likely due to the coverage afforded the recent SECSTATE trip to China and U.S. & PRC Presidents meeting in Manila. A *Washington Times* story last week did report Representative Pelosi's letter criticizing aspects of the trip. However, a 30 November article in the *Washington Post* pointing out that Taiwan is nervous about improving relations between Washington and Beijing, especially in light of the South African Government's decision to open diplomatic ties with the PRC, did prominently mention the upcoming Chi visit. This may harbingers increasing attention as we approach the Washington-portion of the itinerary.

prepared by: Colonel Karl Eikenberry
30 November 1996

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